

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 194232

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, US, SF, SU

SUBJECT: SECRETARY VANCE MEETS WITH FRANCIS DENG

1. SUMMARY: SECRETARY VANCE MET IN NEW YORK WITH  
SUDANESE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FRANCIS  
DENG ON THE MORNING OF JULY 28, FOLLOWING THE PREVIOUS  
DAY'S SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA. THEY DIS-  
CUSSED THE FLOOD DISASTER IN SUDAN, THE OAU MEETING IN  
KHARTOUM, PRESIDENT NIMEIRI'S ROLE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE  
OAU, SOUTH AFRICA, AND SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA.  
END SUMMARY.

2. DURING THE CONVERSATION, DENG EXPRESSED TO THE  
SECRETARY HIS GOVERNMENT'S APPRECIATION OF THE PROMPTNESS  
OF THE US RESPONSE TO THE FLOOD EMERGENCY IN THE SUDAN.  
THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE WERE WORKING ON THIS MATTER  
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AND THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD CHECK ON IT WHEN HE RETURNED  
TO WASHINGTON. DENG SAID THAT IT WAS PARTICULARLY DIS-  
TURBING THAT THE FLOODS "HIT AT THE BACKBONE" OF THE  
SUDANESE ECONOMY, IN THAT A VERY PRODUCTIVE AREA HAD  
BEEN INNUNDATED: MUCH OF THE PEANUT CROP HAS BEEN  
DESTROYED AND COTTON PRODUCTION WILL BE DRASTICALLY  
REDUCED.

3. DENG SAID THE OAU MEETING IN KHARTOUM WAS USEFUL. BECAUSE OF THE DIVISIVE ISSUES ON THE AGENDA, THERE "WAS GOOD REASON FOR APPREHENSION." HOWEVER, IT WAS HELPFUL THAT MANY HEADS-OF-STATE ATTENDED, THAT THE ISSUES WERE SQUARELY FACED, AND THAT THE DISCUSSIONS-- ALTHOUGH HEATED--WERE AIMED AT FINDING SOLUTIONS. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION. AT THE OUTSET THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ATTEMPTED TO PLACE THE FOCUS ON FRANCE. THEY DREDGED UP THE HISTORY OF COLONIALISM AND ACCUSATIONS OF NEO-COLONIALISM AGAINST FRANCE AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA, THOSE WHO TOOK THIS LINE FOUND THEMSELVES PLACED ON THE DEFENSIVE, HAVING TO JUSTIFY WHAT OTHERS CHARGED WAS A NEW KIND OF COLONIALISM. DENG SAID THAT THE RESULTANT STANDOFF WAS POSITIVE IN THE SENSE THAT THERE "WAS NO TOTAL DISAGREEMENT."

4. THE SECRETARY ASKED WHAT HAD BEEN DECIDED ABOUT AN INTER-AFRICAN MILITARY FORCE. DENG RESPONDED THAT THE RAISING OF THIS ISSUE HAD LED TO AN ATTEMPT TO CONDEMN FRANCE AND THE WEST BUT ENDED WITH AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO STUDY THE IDEA OF CREATING A FORCE UNDER OAU AUSPICES WHICH WOULD BE USED ONLY FOR PURPOSES OF "LIBERATION." DENG SAID THAT THIS APPROACH "WAS A BIT CONFIDENTIAL

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EVASIVE" AND IMPLIED THAT LITTLE WILL COME OF THE IDEA TO CREATE AN EFFECTIVE FORCE FOR PEACEKEEPING PURPOSES.

5. DENG COMMENTED THAT THE WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM HAD BEEN "TRICKY" AT KHARTOUM. HE SAID THAT DESPITE A STRONG INITIAL EFFORT BY ALGERIA, "WE WOULD NOT LET THE POLISARIO IN." HE SAID THE DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE WAS INTENSE. THE OUTCOME, AS WE KNEW, WAS A DECISION TO ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE OF WISE MEN TO LOOK FOR A SOLUTION. HE THOUGHT IT SIGNIFICANT THAT THE OAU MEMBER STATES HAD DECIDED TO ESTABLISH NEW "ORGANS OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS."

6. PRESIDENT NIMEIRI, DENG SAID, VERY MUCH INTENDS TO WORK HARD DURING THE YEAR OF HIS PRESIDENCY OF THE OAU TO SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS, AND WOULD WELCOME ANY IDEAS FROM THE US GOVERNMENT DURING HIS TENURE. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT NIMEIRI'S EMPHASIS ON PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES IS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND MUCH APPRECIATED. IF THERE IS ANY-THING USEFUL WE CAN OFFER, WE WILL DO SO.

7. AT DENG'S REQUEST THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED THE RHODESIAN SITUATION AND THE CONTINUING EFFORT OF THE US, UK AND OTHERS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. DENG OBSERVED THAT MANY AFRICANS WERE SOLIDLY BEHIND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE, BUT IN THEIR EYES, "THE ROLE OF BRITAIN IS SUSPECT." HE SAID THESE AFRICANS THINK THE BRITISH FAVOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE SECRETARY VIGOROUSLY DENIED THIS, STATING THAT HE FIRMLY BELIEVES THE UK WANTS TO SEE A SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROBLEM.

8. DENG ASKED FOR THE SECRETARY'S LONG-TERM VIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA. AFTER THE SECRETARY HAD DISCUSSED THIS, EMPHASIZING THE FUNDAMENTALS OF US POLICY, DENG ASKED  
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WHAT COULD AFRICAN COUNTRIES DO. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT FIRST THEY SHOULD HELP RESOLVE THE ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS, WHICH HAVE PRIORITY NOW. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, WE MUST ALL "PUSH ON APARTHEID." IN DOING THIS, THOUGH, WE SHOULD NOT "FRAGMENT OUR EFFORTS TO THE POINT THAT ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA SLIP AWAY."

9. DENG SAID HE FOUND IT INTERESTING THAT, "PARADOXICALLY", CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE "NOW CALLING ON THE WEST TO COME TO THEIR RESCUE." THESE COUNTRIES, LIKE SUDAN AND SOMALIA, WHICH HAVE DEALT CLOSELY WITH THE SOVIET UNION, FEAR THAT SOVIET EXPANSIONISM IS A FORCE THAT THE US CANNOT CONTROL, DENG ASSERTED. HE ASKED HOW THIS PROBLEM SHOULD BE APPROACHED. THE SECRETARY ANSWERED THAT A NUMBER OF THINGS SHOULD BE DONE. THE US SHOULD ASSIST AFRICA TO MEET ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS. WE SHOULD ALSO HELP RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, LIKE NAMIBIA, WHEN OUR HELP IS WANTED. FOR THEIR PART, AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD STRENGTHEN, AS THEY ARE DOING, POLITICAL STRUCTURES LIKE THE OAU. FINALLY, THERE WILL BE CASES WHEN AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILL NEED SOME LIMITED MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IN THESE INSTANCES, THE US WILL BE WILLING TO HELP; NOT TO POUR ARMS IN, BUT TO PROVIDE LIMITED MILITARY ASSISTANCE," SUCH AS WE HAVE IN SUDAN AND KENYA."

10. DENG ASKED THE SECRETARY WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET UNION WAS EMBARKED ON BROAD EXPANSION INTO AFRICA. THE SECRETARY SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THIS IS THE CASE. THE SOVIETS SEE TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY AND MOVE ON A SELECTIVE BASIS. IN HIS OPINION, IN THE LONG RUN THEY WILL NOT SUCCEED. DENG INDICATED AGREEMENT.  
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HE SAID HE HAS HEARD ANGOLANS AND ETHIOPIANS TALK IN  
SUCH A WAY THAT THEY SEEM AWARE OF SOVIET INTENTIONS.

DENG AGREES WITH THOSE AFRICANS WHO BELIEVE THAT THE  
SOVIETS DO NOT UNDERSTAND AFRICA AND WILL NOT STAY LONG  
IN ANY GIVEN COUNTRY. VANCE

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